

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 ARA-16 AF-10 EUR-25 NEA-10 RSC-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15 USIA-15 ACDA-19 OMB-01

MBFR-04 /182 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:JWKIMBALL/IO:MFHERZ

APPROVED BY IO - MARTIN F. HERZ

EA - MR. SNEIDER (DRAFT)

ARA - MR. MONSMA

IO/UNP - MR. STULL

IO/UNP - MR. STULL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 196917

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, KN, KS

SUBJECT: KOREA IN 28TH UNGA

REF: A. STATE 162623; B. STATE 182916;

C. USUN 3129 (REPEATED SEPTTEL)

1. FOLLOWING SENT ACTION: BUENOS AIRES, BRIDGETOWN, NASSAU, SANTIAGO, QUITO, GEORGETOWN, KINGSTON, LIMA, PORT OF SPAIN, MEXICO, PANAMA, ALL OTHERS FOR INFO.

2. KOREAN ITEM IN UNGA THIS YEAR IS MAJOR US POLICY CONCERN. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE SUPPLEMENTS REF A, FOCUSSED SPECIFICALLY ON PROVISIONS DRAFT FRIENDLY RESOLUTION SUBMITTED TO UN (REF B). POSTS SHOULD UTILIZE THIS MATERIAL
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AT HIGHEST APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF HOST GOVERNMENT IN THEIR EFFORTS (EXCEPT WHERE REGARDED SELF-DEFEATING) TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM FEASIBLE SUPPORT FOR FRIENDLY DRAFT RESOLUTION AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RESOLUTION (SEE ALSO PARA 13

BELOW). ROK AND OTHER CO-SPONSORS, PARTICULARLY JAPAN AND UK, ARE SIMILARLY ACTIVE AND EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO ASSURE APPROACHES ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING AND TAILORED TO LOCAL SITUATION.

3. OVERALL AIM OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS TO PROMOTE PEACE AND STABILITY IN KOREA AND TO FACILITATE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO DETENTE BETWEEN ROK AND DPRK. WE SEE OPPOSING RESOLUTION AS DE-STABILIZING AND LEADING TO CONFRONTATION BECAUSE OF ITS HARMFUL EFFECT ON ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENT, ITS SUPPORT OF UNREALISTIC NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON UNIFICATION, AND ITS UNWARRANTED ATTACK ON US TROOP PRESENCE. WE BELIEVE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WITH PEACEFUL EVOLUTION IN KOREAN PENINSULA SHOULD FIND MERIT IN OUR BASIC APPROACH. WE SEEK TO AVOID CONTENTIOUS DEBATE IN UNGA AND OUR RESOLUTION (IN CONTRAST TO THAT OF THE OTHER SIDE) DOES NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE SOLUTION ON EITHER PARTY.

4. OPERATIVE PARA 1 WELCOMES NORTH/SOUTH DEIALOGUE TO EASE TENSION AND PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACEFUL UNIFICATION. AS SECRETARY TOLD UNGA SEPTEMBER 24, "NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA ARE AT LAST ENGAGED IN A DIALOGUE WHICH WE HOPE WILL LEAD TO A NEW ERA OF PEACE AND SECURITY."

5. UNCURK. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION CONFIRMS UNCURK RECOMMENDATION OF OWN DISSOLUTION AND AS SUCH CONSTITUTES GESTURE TO DPRK AS WELL AS ACKNOWLEDGMENT TWO KOREAS THEMSELVES BEST QUALIFIED TO PURSUE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA. ("HOSTILE" RESOLUTION SPONSORED BY ALGERIA AND OTHERS ALSO CALLS FOR DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, SO THIS INVOLVES NO REAL ISSUE).

6. CONCURRENT MEMBERSHIP. COSPONSORS HAVE CAREFULLY TAILORED FRIENDLY RESOLUTION TO MEET OBJECTIONS THAT UNGA MUST NOT FOIST UN MEMBERSHIP UPON AN UNWILLING DPRK. OPERATIVE PARA 3 THUS ONLY "EXPRESSES HOPE" TWO KOREAS WILL "CONSIDER MEMBERSHIP" AS MEANS OF FURTHERING PEACE
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AND THUS EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION. RESOLUTION DOES NOT INSIST UPON MEMBERSHIP, AND US HAS NO INTENTION OF PRESSING ISSUE IN SECURITY COUNCIL AT PRESENT TIME. AS WITH UN ENTRY OF FRG AND GDR, FRIENDLY RESOLUTION RECOGNIZES REALITIES THAT PEACEFUL UNIFICATION UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS UNLIKELY AND NO ALTERNATIVE FOR PRESENT BUT CONTINUATION TWO KOREAS, AND OFFERS BENEFITS TO BOTH SIDES. SECRETARY SUMMARIZED US VIEW TO UNGA SEPTEMBER 24 SAYING "THE EXCLUSION OF ANY QUALIFIED STATE DENIES REPRESENTATION NOT ONLY TO GOVERNMENTS, BUT TO PEOPLES. MEMBERSHIP IN THIS BODY SHOULD BE A STEP TOWARD RECONCILIATION, NOT A SOURCE OF CONFLICT. THE TIME HAS COME FOR NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA TO BE OFFERED THEIR RIGHTFUL

PLACES HERE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO A FUTURE EVOLUTION
TOWARD UNIFICATION."

7. US REGRETS APPARENT DPRK OPPOSITION TO UN MEMBERSHIP.
WE STILL HOPE THAT IN SPIRIT OF UNIVERSALITY -- AND GIVEN
PREVIOUS NORTH KOREAN ATTEMPTS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL
RECOGNITION THROUGH DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS
AND ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS --

DPRK WILL COME TO VIEW UN ADMISSION FAVORABLY. WHERE
APPROPRIATE YOU MAY NOTE INCONSISTENCY OF DPRK POSITION
SEEKING ADMISSION TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
(I.E., WHO) WHILE OPPOSING ADMISSION TO UN. ALTHOUGH
MOST RECENTLY DPRK TAKES POSITION THAT ONLY UNIFIED KOREA
SHOULD BE ADMITTED, APPLICATIONS OF ROK AND DPRK HAVE
BEEN BEFORE UNSC SINCE LATE 1940'S. ADMISSION OF TWO
KOREAN STATES WOULD IN OUR VIEW PROMOTE PEACE AND
STABILITY BY BRINGING THEM WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN CHARTER
OBLIGATIONS AND THEREBY ENHANCING SECURITY OF EACH VIS-
A-VIS THE OTHER. IT SHOULD BE CLEAR FROM TEXT OF RESO-
LUTION AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF CO-SPONSORS THAT ADMISSION
NEED NOT PREJUDICE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREAS WHICH
REMAINS QUESTION FOR BILATERAL AGREEMENT.

8. UN COMMAND. BECAUSE OF WORLD-WIDE IMPLICATIONS OF
ANY CONFLICT ON KOREAN PENINSULA, SECURITY ALONG THE
DEMILITARIZED ZONE IS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO EVERY
MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, HOWEVER FAR IT MAY BE
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GEOGRAPHICALLY FROM KOREA. PREMATURE OR PRECIPITOUS MOVE
BY UNGA AGAINST UNC IN ABSENCE AGREED ALTERNATIVE ARRANGE-
MENTS COULD IMPAIR VALIDITY OF ARMISTICE AGREEMENT (WHICH
ESTABLISHED DEMILITARIZED ZONE) AND ENHANCE RISK OF
RENEWED CONFLICT INsofar AS AGGRESSION MIGHT BE DEPICTED
AS INTERNAL CONFLICT OUTSIDE SCOPE OF UN. ACCORDINGLY,
WE BELIEVE GA SHOULD NOT ADDRESS DISSOLUTION OF UNC UNTIL
ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENTS EXIST WHICH MIGHT BE WORKED OUT BY
THE PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING THE ROK AND DPRK (WHICH
SO FAR HAS SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS TO DO SO). OPERATIVE PARA
4 OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION IS CAREFULLY STRUCTURED TO
INDICATE NEED TO MAINTAIN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT FOR PEACE
AND SECURITY IN AREA, WHILE SIGNALLING WILLINGNESS TO
CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS (WITHOUT HOWEVER INTRO-
DUCING POSSIBLY CONTENTIOUS SPECIFICS WHICH COULD BE MORE
APPROPRIATELY DISCUSSED AMONG THE PARTIES CONCERNED).

9. POSTS SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT OPERATIVE PARA 4 IS CLEAR
INDICATION OF ROK, AND US, WILLINGNESS TO LOOK CONSTRUC-
TIVELY TO FUTURE, AND DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE DIGGING
OURSELVES INTO RIGID POSITION IN FAVOR OF PERPETUATION OF
UNC. WE RECOGNIZE TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THERE MUST BE

READJUSTMENTS IN UN PRESENCE IN KOREA, BUT BELIEVE SUCH READJUSTMENTS MUST NOT BE IMPOSED AND MUST COME THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND IN MANNER THAT WILL NOT DESTABILIZE SITUATION.

10. ALTHOUGH HOSTILE RESOLUTION SEEKS TO CONNECT UNCURK AND UNC WITH PRESENCE OF FOREIGN TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA, LATTER IS COMPLETELY SEPARATE QUESTION AND IN OUR VIEW

INAPPROPRIATE FOR UNGA RESOLUTION. CONTINUED PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN SOUTH KOREA IS BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN ROK AND US. RIGHT OF A COUNTRY TO INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS FOR PURPOSE OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IS IMPLICIT IN ARTICLE 51 OF UN CHARTER. MOREOVER, WHEN US TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM ROK THEY MOVE THOUSANDS OF MILES, WHEREAS TROOPS OF DPRK'S SUPPORTERS ARE ON ITS BORDERS. BOTH FAIRNESS AND RESPECT FOR CHARTER THUS DICTATE THAT UNGA NOT ATTEMPT TO TAMPER WITH SUCH BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

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11. POSTS AT THEIR DISCRETION MAY NOTE THAT RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ALGIERS CONFERENCE ON KOREA IS POINT FOR POINT INSTANT REPLAY OF NORTH KOREAN POSITION AND HARDLY DESERVES CHARACTERIZATION AS NON-ALIGNED. (ALGIERS RES, AS DOES HOSTILE UNGA RES, PARROTS NORTH KOREAN POSITION ON ADMISSION OF CONFEDERATED KOREAN STATE TO UN, OPPOSITION TO ADMISSION TWO KOREAN STATES, WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES STATIONED UNDER UN FLAG, AND DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK.) SOME AFRICAN AND ARAB STATES APPEAR ATTRACTED TO SO-CALLED NON-ALIGNED POSITION AND THIS TENDENCY OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US. THIS CONNECTION BELIEVE IT SIGNIFICANT THAT ASIDE FROM PRC AND MONGOLIA, NO EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES HAVE CO-SPONSORED HOSTILE RESOLUTION IN UNGA.

12. FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE ON KOREAN ITEM UNLIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE MID-NOVEMBER, BUT COULD OCCUR SOONER. DEPT NEEDS EARLIEST POSSIBLE INDICATION OF HOST GOVT VOTE IN ORDER REFINE OUR APPROACH AND TACTICS FOR UNGA DEBATE. SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SHIFT FROM NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO ABSTENTION COULD BE AS VALUABLE TO US AS SHIFT OF FENCE-SITTERS TO POSITIVE COLUMN. IN MAKING REPRESENTATIONS, POSTS SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY ALERT TO REASONS HOST GOVT MAY GIVE FOR HESITATING TO SUPPORT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS OF FRIENDLY RES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH KOREAN UN MEMBERSHIP OR UN COMMAND. SUBJECT TO REGIONAL COMMENTS BELOW, WE LEAVE TO POST'S DISCRETION HOW US VIEWS CAN MOST EFFECTIVELY BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION HOST GOVT AND HOW THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR OBJECTIVES AND SUPPORT FOR DRAFT RESOLUTION (AND NEGATIVE VOTE ON HOSTILE RES) CAN BEST BE PROMOTED. USUN WILL BE REPORTING ITS CONTACTS

WITH INDIVIDUAL UN DELEGATIONS AND MAY IN SOME INSTANCES RECOMMEND SPECIFIC FOLLOW-UP ACTION IN CAPITALS. POSTS MAY ACT ON SUCH REQUESTS AT THEIR DISCRETION WITHOUT FURTHER REFERENCE TO DEPT. REPORT ALL ACTION TAKEN TO DEPT, INFO SEOUL AND USUN.

13. ARA CO-SPONSORS OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION NOW INCLUDE: BOLIVIA, COLOMBIA, NICARAGUA, PARAGUAY, AND URUGUAY. WE

HOPEFUL THAT COSTA RICA, HONDURAS, AND HAITI MAY BECOME CONFIDENTIAL

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CO-SPONSORS IN NEAR FUTURE, ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTAND COSTA RICA'S DESIRE TO DELAY MOVE UNTIL AFTER ELECTIONS TO SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HOPE AT MINIMUM HOLD ARGENTINA TO ABSTENTION ON BOTH RESES AND ASSUME LITTLE CHANCE OF MOVING PERU TO BETTER THAN ABSTENTION ON EACH RES. ECUADOR REMAINS QUESTIONABLE BECAUSE OF BENITES POSITION AS GA PRESIDENT AND HIS REMARKS ON MEMBERSHIP ISSUE (USUN 3229) THOUGH FONOFF EARLIER AGREED WITH US (QUITO 4660). WE HOPEFUL CHILE WILL SUPPORT AT TIME OF VOTE BUT LEAVE TO EMBASSY SANTIAGO WHETHER APPROACH TO FONOFF SHOULD BE MADE AT THIS TIME. ON BASIS REPORTING, OTHER SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICANS APPEAR WILLING SUPPORT US POSITION AND VOTE AGAINST ALGERIAN RES, BUT PANAMA AND MEXICO COULD SLIP AND DEPT WOULD APPRECIATE TIMELY RECONFIRMATION OF HOST GOVT POSITION WHEREVER FEASIBLE. GUYANA MAY VOTE AGAINST US AND POSITION OF CARIBBEAN STATES IS NOT CLEAR. WE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT JAMAICA, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, AND BARBADOS MAY FALL PREY TO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE BANDWAGON, ABSTAIN ON RES, AND POSSIBLY VOTE IN FAVOR OF ALGERIAN RES. INFO ADDRESSEES MAY INITIATE DISCUSSIONS THIS SUBJECT WHEREVER DEEMED USEFUL TO SECURE SUPPORT. RUSH

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: collinp0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE196917
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: IO/UNP:JWKIMBALL/IO:MFHERZ
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731066/abqceiwd.tel
Line Count: 255
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. STATE 162623; B. STATE 182916; C. USUN 3129 (REPEATED SEPTEL)
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: collinp0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 OCT 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04-Oct-2001 by smithrj>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2002 by collinp0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KOREA IN 28TH UNGA
TAGS: PFOR, KN, KS, UN
To: ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS INFO USUN N Y
SEOUL
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005